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Message Text

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ACTION SS-30

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---------- 079271
O 151215Z AUG 74
FM AMEMBASSY NICOSIA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 9498
INFO RUQMAT/AMEMBASSY ATHENS IMMEDIATE 4731
AMEMBASSY ANKARA IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY LONDON IMMEDIATE
USMISSION USUN IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 NICOSIA 2373

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PINT PFOR CY
SUBJ: CYPRUS: WHERE HOW?

1. TURKISH TROOP MOVEMENTS DURING PAST THIRTY HOURS HAVE INDICATED DETERMINATION GRAB BY FORCE WHAT THEY UNABLE DICTATE AT GENEVA. HOWEVER, INITIAL THRUSTS HAVE DEVIATED SIGNIFICANTLY FROM PLANS PREVIOUSLY TABLED. ATTACK TO EAST HAS PROGRESSED IN MORE SOUTHERNLY DIRECTION THAN TURKISH DIPLOMATIC DIKTAT SUGGESTED. ASSUMING THESE THRUSTS SUCCESSFUL (AND THERE IS LITTLE TO IMPEDE THEM), TURKS WILL CONTROL CONSIDERABLY MORE TERRITORY IN THIS REGION THAN THEY INITIALLY DEMANDED.

2. AT SAME TIME, TURKISH ARMY APPARENTLY HAS MADE LITTLE OR NO EFFORT ACHIEVE ITS TERRITORIAL AMBITIONS TO WEST. THIS MAY BE TACTICAL MOVE AND IT QUITE POSSIBLE TURKISH ARMOR WILL REVERSE DIRECTION ONCE CORRIDOR TO FAMAGUSTA SECURE. (AS OF NOON TURKISH ARMOR HAS MOVED AGAINST AREA ON WESTERN EDGE NICOSIA WHERE ELDYK CONTINGENT LOCATED AND FROM OUR LIMITED OBSERVATION FROM ROOF SEEMS DIRECTED TOWARD SECURING MORPHOU ROAD AT NORTHERN EDGE AIRPORT. MOVEMENT BEING CONTESTED BOTH IN AREA AND BY ARTILLERY FIRING, APPARENTLY FROM STROVOLOS AREA.)

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3. IN MOVING AS IT HAS, TURKISH ARMY HAS BYPASSED CONSIDERABLE

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(IMPOSSIBLE GIVE PRECISE FIGURE) ELEMENTS OF CYPRUS NATIONAL GUARD -- PRESUMABLY SILL ORGANIZED -- AND CUT OFF LARGE NUMBER GREEK CYPRIOT CIVILIANS, MANY OF WHOM ARE WELL ARMED. IF PREVIOUS ACTION IN KYRENIA/KARAVAS/LAPITHOS ANY INDICATION, TURKS WILL FACE CONTINUED TENACIOUS GUERRILLA OPPOSITION FOR SOME TIME TO COME.

4. IN SHORT, WHAT TURKS APPARENTLY EXPECTED TO BE NEAT SURGICAL OPERATION COULD TURN INTO DRAWN OUT BLOODY AFFAIR, WITH WORLD OPINION INCREASINGLY AROUSED BY TURKISH ACTLNS. (CLEANING OUT GUERRILLAS NEVER AN EASY TASK, EVEN UNDER BEST OF CIRCUM-STANCES.) MORE OMINOUSLY, PROTRACTED FIGHTING, REGARDLESS OF ITS NATURE, WOULD GIVE THIRD PARTIES-- PARTICULARLY SOVIET UNION -- AN OPPORTUNITY TO PLAY INVIDIOUS ROLE, OFFERING MORAL AND OTHER SUPPORT TO DISSIDENTS.

5. ABOVE SCENARIO EVEN MORE LIKELY TRANSPIRE IF GREEK CYPRIOTS REFUES (AS THEY PROBABLY WILL) FORMALLY ACQUIESCE TO TURKISH LAND GRAB. EMBASSY DOUBTS WHETHER ANY GREEK CYPRIOT LEADER COULD ACCEPT THIS AND SURVIVE, PHYSICALLY AS WELL AS POLI-TAICALLY. MORE LIKELY, GOCYPRUS WILL ACCEPT, IN SHORT ORDER, CEASEFIRE IN FACE OF OVERWHELMING POWER ITS OPPONENT, WHILE RESISTING CONSTITUTIONAL SETTLEMENT. AMBASSADOR'S TALK WITH ACTING FOREIGN MINISTER GAVE SOME INDICATION OF PULLING BACK SOME ELEMENTS OF NATIONAL GUARD FROM AREAS THOUGHT TO BE PRIMARY OBJECTIVES.

6. PROBLEM IS CEASEFIRE UNLIKELY HOLD IN VIEW CONDITIONS DESCRIBED ABOVE (PARA 3) AND FANATICAL NATURE MOST GREEK CYPRIOT NATIONALISTS. ALSO POSSIBLE THAT GREEK CYPRIOT MILITANTS IN SOUTH WILL SEEK REVENGE THROUGH SLAUGHTER TURKISH HOSTAGES IN THEIR HANDS. IF THIS TRANSPIRED. TURKISH GOALS COULD ESCALATE AND THEY MIGHT SEEK OCCUPATION ENTIRE ISLAND (OR AT LEAST THOSE PORTIONS CONTAINING SUGNIFICANT NUMBER TURK CYPRIOTS). ALTERNA-TIVE WOULD BE MUTUAL MASSACRES, POSSIBILITY ALREADY FLOATED ON MILITARY CONTROLLED RADIO BAYRAK.

7. ADDITIONALLY, WISH POINT OUT THAT OCCUPATION WOULD BE LIKELY INCREASE, RATHER THAN REDUCE, TURKS' SECURITY PROBLEM (WITNESS DIFFICULTY BRITISH FORCES HAD IN LATE '50'S, DESPITE ENORMOUS

NUMBER TROOPS STATIONED HERE). THEY UNDOUBTEDLY COULD RESCUE MANY TURK CYPRIOTS BUT, IN RETREAT TO EXPANDED ENCLAVE, WOULD LEAVE BEHIND ANARCHY IN WHICH COMMUNISTS COULD MAKE SIGNIFICANT GAINS.

8. GIVEN THIS DISMAL PICTURE, WHAT ARE ALTERNATIVES FOR U.S. POLICY? MUCH AS WE HATE TO SUGGEST IT, WE THINK THERE NO RPT NO ALTERNATIVE TO SOME SORT OF

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PARTITION (THOUGH HOPEFULLY WITHIN AN INDEPENDENT CYPRIOT STATE). REGARDLESS OF INTERNATIONAL OPINION AND/OR BILATERAL PRESSURE, WE SUSPECT THERE IS NO RPT NO WAY TO PREVENT TURKS FROM EXPELLING MAJORITY OF GREEK CYPRIOTS LIVING WITHIN THEIR AREA OF CONTROLM ASSUME THEY WILL MAKE EVERY EFFORT TURN EX-PULSION INTO TRADE OFF, EXCHANGING GREEK CYPRIOTS FOR THEIR COMPATRIOST LOCATED ELSEWHERE ON ISLAND. (FROM OUR ROUGH READING 1950 CENSUS FIGURES, THIS WILL REQUIRE DISLOCATION APPROX 75,000 GREEKS AND 54,000 TURKS). CONVERSATIONS WITH DENKTASH PRIOR TO HIS DEPARTURE FOR GENEVA GAVE CLEAR INDICA-TION OF HIS PREFERENCE FOR LARGEST POSSIBLE CONCENTRATION OF TURK CYPRIOTS IN ONE LARGE ENCLAVE.

9. WHILE WE MAY DEPLORE THIS MOVEMENT TOWARD PARTITION AND SEGREGATION, IT SEEMS INEVITABLE EXCEPT IN UNLIKELY EVENT OF AN OUTSIDE INTERVENTION. THE PROBLEM FOR US IS HOW ONCE THE DIPLOMATIC PROCESS RESUMES THIS WILL COME ABOUT WITHOUT MAJOR DAMAGE TO RELATIONS WITH GREECE AND WITHOUT PROVIDING SOVIETS MAJOR OPPORTUNITIES TO EXPLOIT BOTH IN GREECE AND CYPRUS. ADIDE FROM ADDRESSING THIS PROBLEM. WE BELIEVE WE SHOULD BE PREPARED TO ALLEVIATE ITS CONSEQUENCES BY PROVIDING RELIEF SUPPLIES AND FINACIAL ASSISTANCE. CONTINUATION OF HOSTILITIES HAS SEVERELY DAMAGED CYPRIOT ECONOMY; MASSIVE DISLOCATION OF POPULATION WILL ACCELERATE THIS. IN ISLAND WHERE COMMUNIST STRENGTH ALREADY IMPRESSIVE, REBUILDING OF ECONOMY SHOULD BE ITEM OF FIRST PRIORITY ONCE FIGHTING ENDS.

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ACTION SS-30

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 /031 W
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10. ALSO, BELIEVE WE SHOULD ATTEMPT RESTRAIN ANKARA FROM SEEKING IMMEDIATE FORMAL ACCEPTANCE OF CHANGES STATUS QUO. DOUBT THEY WILL BE ABLE ACHIEVE THIS AND THINK IT NOT REALLY IN ANKARA'S INTEREST TO FORCE GREEK COMMUNITY INTO STATE OF ANARCHY, WITH ATTENDANT PROSPECT OF CONTINUED WARFARE AND COMMUNIST GAINS IMMEDIATELY OFF TURKISH COAST.

11. WE REALIZE DEPT AND EMBASSIES ANKARA AND ATHENS ALREADY DOING ALL POSSIBLE TO PREVENT EXPANSION THIS CONFLICT INTO GENERALIZED GRECO-TURKISH WAR. THERE SIMPLY NO WAY ATHENS CAN REVERSE COURSE OF EVENTS ON ISLAND NOW. WHILE PRIMARY RESPONSIBILITY FOR TRAGEDY LIES WITH PREVIOUS REGIME, NEW GOVT WILL HAVE TO COME TO TERMS WITH, WHAT TO ALL GREEKS, MUST APPEAR "UNACCEPTABLE SITUATION."

12. ABOVE POSSIBLY COULD BE MADE MORE PALATABLE TO ATHENS IF ANKARA COULD BE PERSUADED SCALE DOWN ITS TERRITORIAL DEMANDS TO SOMETHING MORE INLINE WITH TURKEY'S ACTUAL SECURITY NEEDS. IN PARTICULAR, WE THINK GREEK APPREHENSIONS OVER DANGER OF FULL PARTITION (AS REAL AS TURK FEAR OF ENOSIS) COULD BE SOMEWHAT ALLEVIATED IF TURKS AGAIN WOULD AGREE TO ESTABLISHMENT OF SEVERAL CANTONS INLIEU ISLAND'S TOTAL CLEAVAGE. EVEN IN THIS CASE, WE FIND IT DIFFICULT TO CONCEIVE OF GREEK AND TURK CYPRIOTS BEING ABLE TO WORK TOGETHER -- EVEN IN FEDERATED/PARTITIONED

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STATE -- WITHIN IMMEDIATE FUTURE. PASSIONS AROUSED BY RECENT EVENTS WILL TAKE SOME TIME TO SUBSIDE.

13. WISH WE COULD OFFER MORE HOPEFUL PROGNOSIS, BUT VIEW FROM THIS EMBASSY (PARTIALLY OBSCURED BY SMOKE AND GUNFIRE) DISTINCTLY DISMAL. TURKS APPEAR DETERMINED PRESS AHEAD AND OUR BEST HOPE OF AVERTING MORE SERIOUS DETERIORATION OF SITUATION IN EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN IS TO TRY TO DIVERT THEM INTO LEAST HARMFUL COURSE. THIS IS LESS THAN SATISFACTORY BUT IT'S ALL WE'RE LIKELY TO GET.
DAVIES

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